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rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2-1621), modern in type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and without esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and forefinger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*sõlïbëltäkõ*; *sõl*, finger, hand; *dtdtd*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

While face painting (*djidlvigd*) is indulged in by both sexes and all ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] But not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 388).
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 196]

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on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.[1]

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal medication does not appeal to them.[2] Leaves of cedar and of two unidentified plants which grow on the plateau (*agwédika* and *tcikápdia*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pluchea sericea* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*halágwila iadma*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distempers, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhœa.[3]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Piñon pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. Bee stings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain

Prayers

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he blows to brush the evil away.[4]

[1] Those struck by lightning are not bone-setters as at Zuñi. In fact, my informant had never heard of anyone so struck save two Walapai who were killed.
[2] This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 351).
[3] Buckthorn is not used medicinally.
[4] See also the prayers used in planting, p. 102, in stringing a bow, p. 180, and to the sun in hunting, p. 110.

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171. 534 of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

171 751 The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

171 778 782 The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs which are to all intents identical with the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

227 171 The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

171 534 789 778 The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Gros Ventre, North-

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (d), 160; Hasbarlin und Günther, 33.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 306–308; Bourke, (a), 502; (c), 430; Mason, J. A., (c), 15; Russell, (c), 82, 106 (". . . rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-man deposited the tails of mountain sheep together with eagle feathers at springs").

[3] Lumholtz, (c), II, 194, 197, 203–209; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferpfeile"); Mason, J. A., (a), 349; (d), 131.

[4] Dixon, (a), 244. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand game played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimen 98872). These may have come from the Basin with the Ghost dance.

[5] Corbusier, 338; Dixon, (a), 266.

[6] Hough, (c), 294; Bourke, (c), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (a), 16.

[7] Kroeber, (b), 396.

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feather the arrows, to bind them with sinew, just as I do; then you can carry them hunting and kill game. Do just as I: I will not live much longer. Or, when I am old and blind, I will not be able to make any more for you, so you had best learn quickly. This too is the way I make moccasins, pants, shirts, and leggings. I will teach you everything I know about things to wear. If I were a boy like you, and my old maternal grandfather was telling me about these things, I would do as he said." 868

A boy is instructed to run toward the dawn as far as he can before turning back. He carries a short slow-match. Hardly has he started to return, when he touches it to ankles, knees, wrists, and elbows to keep them from becoming rheumatic, and throws it back over his head. Recovering it, he runs on home. This is in order that he may readily recall a forgotten article before he is far from camp. He continues this practice through manhood, (?) running at each of his wife's illnesses (p. 320).[1] [751]

When I [Sinyella] was about six years old, my father said, "Do not sleep after sunrise; wake as soon as daylight appears. Run toward the dawn. You should do this every day. Run out as far as you can. Do not walk; run. Do this always when you are a young man too; then you will be able to run fast, and when you race with someone you will win. If you do not, you will be beaten." I did this all the time and I washed my face and eyes. He said, "When you wash, your sight will be sharp; then you can see the game—rabbits lying under the bushes, or deer visible only through an opening among the trees. If you do not wash every morning, you will miss seeing a deer, even though he stands close to you; he will scare you when he bounds off." That is what they told me when I was as old as Lanso [six]. Later when I was as old as my youngest son [twenty] I made both men and women's clothing. By that time I know how to do all these things. Every morning I ran toward the daylight, so I became a good runner. I could beat the Hopi and Navaho when I was a young man. They told me this when I was a boy and I did it, and it was as they said. But now I am getting old and I can not walk or work fast; my legs are getting weak. [863]

He told me how to ride my horse in chasing deer. I shot them from horseback while running. "If you have good horses you can do just as we did," they said. "If you live as we tell you, you will live to be an old man. When you have children, tell them the same as I told you. When you are very old, blind, and your limbs are weak, your son can carry you. You can use a cane; one of your sons can lead you by it. When you are old and toothless, they can put mashed corn and meat into your mouth, and take good care of you just as though you were a little baby." 867

My father said, "When you are a young man and feel strong, you can travel about to get anything you need. You can visit other tribes to trade for things to make a good living: horses, buckskins, or other goods, or things to eat. By and by when you are old you will not have good things any longer." That is what I was told and I have no good things now.

Since success in hunting depends more on skill than on charms, explicit instruction is given to the boy. His father or paternal grand- 868

[1] Practising running and breaking off branches is referred to in myths. The San Carlos boy is also taught by his father to run and to break branches (Hrdlička, (d), 491.) The Arikara-Atsugewi puberty custom is somewhat comparable (Dixon, (e), 216.) Mesqua and Southern Ute fathers similarly run after the birth of a child, the latter breaking off branches (Lowie, (i), 265). [773] [171]

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 343

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [769]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 756 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [756]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 751 775 756

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [762]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. 787 [791]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
● [751] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was
[788] repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber.

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Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us. We don't want that."

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Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him.

756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit.

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The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body.

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Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem gen-wí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai ij gen wí va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The

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000 shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

753 Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from
755 the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

● 75/ The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No [342] care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance at- [825] tached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; [761] should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

757 Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

276 [We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems [171] not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported [757] its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.